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ABSTRACT

Occupational segregation by sex caused by covert discrimination, often unintentional, effectively limits the careers pursued by both men and women. Data indicate that despite the gains in the number of employed women, job segregation patterns that confine women to the traditional female occupations persist and worsen along with the resultant low wages. Vocational segregation by sex in the labor force is mirrored in vocational education enrollments of women in the traditionally female programs. What can vocational educators do? Our primary responsibility is putting our own house in order by implementing fully the Vocational Education Amendments of 1976, changing recruitment and admission practices and policies, improving guidance and counseling efforts, revising curricular materials and teaching practices, increasing the number of female vocational administrators and qualified women teachers in male-dominated courses and vice versa, and continuing important research and development efforts on women in vocational education. Second, vocational educators, as change agents, must recognize and change socialization patterns that limit the occupational choices of men and women. And third, as leaders, they can encourage positive legislative actions, including the establishment of a national commission on women and work having the nonprofessional worker as its primary focus. (The author's answers to sixteen questions from the audience of vocational education research and development personnel are appended.) (EM)

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Occasional Paper No. 26

WOMEN, WORK, AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

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EDUCATION

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THE CENTER MISSION STATEMENT

The Center for Vocational Education's mission is to increase the ability of diverse agencies, institutions, and organizations to solve educational problems relating to individual career planning, preparation, and progression. The Center fulfills its mission by:

- Generating knowledge through research
- Developing educational programs and products
- Evaluating individual program needs and outcomes
- Installing educational programs and products
- Operating information systems and services
- Conducting leadership development and training programs

PREFACE

We are indebted to Dr. Corinne H. Rieder, Associate Director, National Institute of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare for presenting a staff lecture at The Center on the topic, "Women, Work, and Vocational Education." As associate director, Dr. Rieder presides over the Education and Work Group, which administers programs that seek a better understanding of the relationship between education and the working world.

In the lecture, Dr. Rieder talks of the many problems, confusions and discriminatory practices women are faced with in the working world. Fertinent data are presented on past and present conditions of the work force for the working woman (pink collar worker).

Dr. Rieder is a native of California, received her B.A. degree from the University of California at Los Angeles, and master's and doctorate in human resource development planning from Harvard University.

In addition to being an educator, she has worked with the Peace Corps, served as education advisor for the Agency for International Development in the Dominican Republic, director of educational planning for the New York City Planning Commission, and as advisor in education in the office of the Secretary of HEW. In 1972 she was appointed assistant director of the National Institute of Education and associate director in 1974.

Dr. Rieder has presented a number of papers on the topic of education and work.

The Ohio State University and The Center for Vocational Education are honored in sharing with you Dr. Corinne Rieder's presentation, "Women, Work, and Vocational Education."

Robert E. Taylor
Director
The Center for Vocational Education

WOMEN, WORK, AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION*

Nearly twenty years ago as a college freshman eager to pursue a medical career, I sat down with the medical school admissions director of the university in which I was enrolled. I still remember that interview as if it had happened yesterday and how stunned I was to hear that there was a strict quota system for women. "We limit our admission of women to two for our 125-member class," I was told. "Women aren't serious about pursuing careers, they can't take the long hours, they want to get married and have children. That's impossible if one wants to be a physician."

Three years later as a senior I faced a similar situation when I tried to schedule a job interview in business administration at the university's placement office. Repeatedly, I was told as I searched the 3x5 cards on the wall that the companies would only interview men.

Overt discrimination of this sort is clearly on the wane, largely due to federal legislation. Yet there remains with us today a problem much more difficult to address: occupational segregation by sex caused by covert discrimination, often unintentional, and socialization practices that effectively limit the careers pursued by both men and women. It is this issue that I want to address today.

I will discuss with you the data which indicate that most of the 37 million women who now work in America are occupationally segregated and that the 1.2 million other women who will join them this year will enter the same low pay, low status jobs that women have traditionally held. I will then relate this to vocational education programs, do they contribute to this job and pay segregation? If this is indeed the case, then we must ask what can you and I do about it?

The Increase in Labor Force Participation

If one confuses the struggle for equity for women in work and training with some of the more flamboyant aspects of the feminist movement, one seriously misreads the signs of the times. The simple fact is, a revolution is occurring in the position of women in American society. Any discussion of women and work must begin with the extraordinary and largely unforeseen number of women entering the work force.

In the first forty years of this century, the labor force participation rate of women rose slowly from 20 percent in 1900 to 29 percent in 1940. This situation changed dramatically after American entry into World War II. Women replaced men in many traditionally all male occupations. Instead of declining after the war, women's entry into the labor market accelerated. In the twenty-five year period between 1949 and 1974, the number of American women who worked for pay outside the home more than doubled. In the decade 1964 to 1974, the number of women in the labor force constituted 60 percent of all new labor force entrants. During the last two years, women have continued to enter the labor force at an extraordinary pace. Women comprised 33 percent of the national work force in 1960, 38.1 percent in 1970, and 40.7 percent in 1976, a proportion that was not expected to be reached until 1985 by U.S. Labor Department forecasters as recently as three years ago. Economists are now saying that half of American women over sixteen will be in the work force within two or three years.

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*I wish to thank the following NIE staff members who have contributed to this paper: Reid Beddow, Lois-ellin Datta, MaryLou Randour, Bob Stump, and Jean Miller.

Eli Ginsberg, a previous speaker here and chairman of the National Commission for Manpower Policy, has gone so far as to call the increase of women in the work force "the single most outstanding phenomenon of our century" and to add that "its long-term implications are absolutely unchartable . . . it will affect women, men and children, and the cumulative consequences of that will only be revealed in the twenty-first and twenty-second centuries."

There are many factors accounting for this increase of women in the work force. Among them are: the availability of jobs, particularly in those rapidly growing fields of sales, clerical, and service where there is a preponderance of women; the rising divorce and declining birth rates and later marriages; the increasing number of women who are educated, particularly female college graduates who want to pursue careers; the high inflation rate which makes a second income necessary for a family to survive, or to maintain a standard of living; and finally the women's movement which has raised our social consciousness and not only made working for pay outside the home more socially acceptable for mothers but also fostered the view that through work women can find additional intellectual and personal fulfillment.

The Numbers Increase, but the Problem of Occupational Segregation Persists and Worsens

Despite the gains in the number of women employed, the patterns of job segregation that confine women to the traditionally "female" occupations have not changed. Whether one examines specific occupations, occupational groups, or concentration by industry, women are less well distributed than are men.

- More than 40 percent of all women in the work force are employed in ten occupations: secretary, retail sales, bookkeeper, private household worker, elementary school teacher, waitress, typist, cashier, nurse, and seamstress. By comparison, only 20 percent of males are concentrated in the ten largest occupations employing men.

The occupational segregation of women is also evident in comparing men and women by occupational groups.

- Nearly 70 percent of women are employed in three occupational groups: clerical (35 percent), service (18 percent), and professional and technical (15 percent). In comparison, only 50 percent of men are employed in the largest three occupational groups employing men: skilled crafts (21 percent), professional and technical (14 percent), and managers (14 percent).

Finally, occupational segregation by sex exists by industries.

- Sixty-three percent of all women employed in non-agricultural positions are concentrated in services (25 percent), retail (20 percent), and state and local government (18 percent, largely teachers). In comparison only 43 percent of men are concentrated in the three largest industries employing men: manufacturing (19 percent), retail (14 percent), and state and local government (12 percent).

Within occupations, women are also segregated.

- In medicine, women are overrepresented in pediatrics, psychiatry, anesthesiology, and pathology but grossly underrepresented in surgery and surgical specialties. In addition, they are less likely than men to be in private practice and particular in private solo practice.

- In law, few women are in the upper echelons of law firms, on judicial benches, or in prominent positions in state and national legislatures.

- In education, women account for nearly 85 percent of the nation's elementary teachers, but less than 50 percent of secondary school teachers and only 25 percent of teachers at the college level. In school administration, the figures are even more striking. Here women account for only 19 percent of all elementary principals, 1 percent of secondary principals, and only .1 percent of school superintendents. Today there are only 150 women who are chief executives of colleges, mostly two and four-year church-related colleges with small enrollments.

- Women are underrepresented in positions of high status and responsibility. Nearly one out of seven men are in managerial and administrative positions, while the comparable figure for women is one out of twenty.

Low Wages, the Result of Occupational Segregation

The result of women's occupational segregation in the labor market is low wages. Economists have found that "wherever women are cordoned off into a circumscribed number of occupations and industries, the consequences are low wages." This phenomenon occurs even in the fastest growing industries.

For example:

- Women who work full-time had median weekly earnings of $124 in 1974. This is about 60 percent of the $204 reported for men. In fact during the last few years, the earnings differential between men and women widened slightly.

- Across industries, female earnings as a percentage of male earnings are best in agriculture (83 percent) and public administration (71 percent), and worst in finance, insurance, and real estate (56 percent) and manufacturing (57 percent).

Even the economic return associated with greater educational attainment is substantially less for women than for men.

- The median income for a female college graduate who works full-time is only $9,771; for men median earnings are $16,576 (1974).

Low wages for women hurt. They hurt women, children, and men. First, women work because of economic need, just as men do.

- Sixty-seven percent of working women are either single, divorced, widowed, separated, or have husbands who earn less than $7,000 per year. In many instances the earnings of wives who work make the difference between a middle and a low standard of living.

Divorce and separation are increasing in our society and the final impact is often severe.

- In divorce actions, only 50 percent of women receive alimony or child support. For those, the median total payment is $1,300 per year. The median annual wage for a female-headed family is only $5,116 a year and nearly 33 percent of families headed by

- women have incomes below the poverty line. For minorities the problems are even more severe and more than half of all families headed by a woman have incomes below the poverty level.

- A General Accounting Office report recently found that the combined average monthly income of women and children receiving both welfare and earned income in 1975 was less than $300 a month, whereas the median income of the man who abandoned them was about $800 a month.

Occupational Segregation is not Getting Better Fast Enough

The concentration of women in traditional female occupations is barely changing.

- In the ten year period between 1960 and 1970, the number of women in the skilled trades, clearly of import to vocational educators, increased by 218,000 (277,000 to 495,000). In specific trades, the female share of carpenter employment increased from 0.4 to 1.3 percent; electricians from 0.7 to 1.8 percent; plumbers from 0.3 to 1.1 percent; auto mechanics from 0.4 to 1.4 percent; painters from 1.9 to 4.1 percent; tool and die makers from 0.6 to 2.1 percent; and machinists from 1.3 to 3.1 percent. In the professions, by way of comparison, the proportion of physicians who were women rose from 7 to 9 percent; dentists from 2.3 to 3.4 percent. When measured as a rate of increase, women's entry into non-traditional occupations showed impressive growth rates. For example, the number of women carpenters quadrupled in the decade 1960-1970. This rate of growth is encouraging, but the absolute numbers of women in such occupations is so small that it remains to be seen if such growth rates can continue in the future.

- Women continue to enter the clerical and service fields and over the next decade it is projected that two-thirds of the total increase in employment of women will take place in those traditionally female occupations.

Educational Segregation by Sex in Vocational Education

The occupational segregation by sex in the labor force is mirrored in vocational education enrollments. In fact, vocational education has done little to eliminate occupational segregation.

- Although women comprise 55.5 percent (6.4 million) of the 11.6 million students enrolled in federally funded vocational education and two-thirds of all secondary vocational enrollments, they are heavily concentrated in home economics, which is usually non-wage-earning, and in office and health occupations. For example, about 45 percent of the women receiving vocational education in 1972 were enrolled in consumer and homemaking classes and women comprised 92 percent of all enrollees in these programs.

- Twenty-eight percent of all women vocational students were taking training leading to office occupations and again women made up a substantial percentage (84.7) of all enrollees in such programs.

- Conversely, women are underrepresented in trade, industrial, and technical education. In trade and industrial occupations, women make up less than 12 percent of total enrollments

and even then they are heavily concentrated in traditionally female occupations such as cosmetology, textile production and fabrication, commercial and graphic arts, public services, and in supervisory training.

- In technical occupations, less than 10 percent of the total enrollment is female and only in one occupational title, scientific data technology, do women make up more than 30 percent of total enrollments.

Thus almost all the women in vocational education are concentrated in a few traditional programs. Change has been very slow, but these changes are interesting to review.

- Between 1969 and 1973 a few women began to enroll in traditionally "male" vocational programs. Though small, the number of women enrolled in air-conditioning courses increased from seventy to 2,664; in auto body and fender repair, from seven to 1,082; in auto mechanics, from 906 to 5,299; in carpentry, from 111 to 1,451; in metal occupations, from 1,367 to 3,081; in law enforcement training, from 2,225 to 5,943; and in woodworking occupations, from 592 to 5,373.

Ending occupational sex role stereotyping and segregation is, I believe, in our national interest. Our country loses much if one half of our population is unable to make a full contribution to the general economic, political, and social welfare. Occupational sex role stereotyping affects both men and women by limiting appropriate males roles as much as female roles. If it were eliminated, many more service and white collar opportunities would be open to men. It would be okay for a man to be an elementary school teacher, a clerk typist, and a nurse, and for women to be bus and taxi drivers and skilled craft workers. On an individual level, there would be changes in income. The recent recession brought home to many men firsthand what it was like to have to live on their wives' income. As men were laid off, they began to look more seriously at their wives' low income and to question why it was so low. Eliminating the "overcrowding" of women in a narrow band of occupations would tend to equalize incomes between men and women.

What Can Vocational Educators Do?

Vocational educators, as much as any other single group in our society, have both the responsibility and means to do something about these problems. The reason is that they are at the critical juncture between school and work. They recruit students, provide them with the knowledge and skills needed for successful job entry, and place students in their first jobs. Within education, their unique responsibility is to represent the utilitarian purposes of education and to meet our society's economic needs. Within the world of work, they are concerned with development of their students' potential to the fullest and their placement in a work environment which is financially and psychologically rewarding. The intractable problems of occupational and education segregation must be addressed at all levels of education and government.

The Center for Vocational Education under Bob Taylor's excellent leadership has been at the forefront of R&D efforts which give women a greater role in vocational education. I hope in talking with you that I can galvanize all of us in this field to continue and redouble our efforts to end the pervasive and insidious forms of discrimination confronting women. Those of us concerned with vocational education can take several steps to address these problems. Our primary responsibility is putting our own house in order. Specifically this means: (1) implementing fully the Vocational Education Amendments of 1976, (2) changing recruitment and admission practices and policies, (3) improving guidance and counseling efforts, (4) revising curricular materials and teaching practices,

(5) increasing the number of female vocational administrators and qualified women teachers in male-dominated courses and male teachers in female-dominated fields, and (6) continuing important research and development efforts on women in vocational education.

The Vocational Education Amendments of 1976 are unequivocal on the problem of sex bias in vocational education.

The act calls for the assignment of full-time personnel who will:

- Create greater awareness of vocational education programs and activities that reduce sex stereotyping.
- Gather, analyze, and disseminate data on the status of male and female students and employees.
- Develop and support actions to correct deficiencies and problems.
- Review the distribution of grants by the state boards to ensure that women's needs are being met.
- Review vocational programs for sex bias.
- Monitor all personnel laws prohibiting discrimination.
- Review and submit recommendations in the annual program plan and report.
- Provide assistance to local education agencies or other bodies in overcoming sex stereotyping and sex bias.

Clearly, this law is not designed for lip service implementation or as a mere imposition of another layer of bureaucracy. It is a charter and a mandate under which vocational educators can set their house in order with support and information from higher levels of government.

Recruitment and admission policies and practices in vocational education must be rapidly changed. Over the next few years, HEW's Office of Civil Rights will be carefully examining enrollments in vocational schools, courses, and programs. They will be joined by the Lawyer's Committee for equal rights under the law, funded by the Carnegie and Ford Foundations, which will be looking at the same problem. I expect recruitment policies—where and how perspective students are recruited—to be a special focus of these investigations.

Counselors have a particularly important role. They can either reinforce sex role stereotypes which narrow occupational choices, or they can encourage students to think more broadly about their educational and occupational decisions. For example, standardized tests, particularly career interest inventories, should be interpreted in sex-fair ways and used as tools to expand the career possibilities explored by both girls and boys. Counselors will only be made aware of these problems and of the ways they can change through in-service and preservice training. NIE's Education and Work Group has funded development of many excellent materials available for such courses. The *ABT Learning Kit for Guidance Counselors, Counselor Educators and Teachers* is an outstanding preservice and in-service course to be used for providing sex-fair guidance and counseling to boys and girls. Helen Farmer's *Women at Work: A Three Part Counseling Series* is an extremely useful resource for secondary and post-secondary students, teachers, and counselors. Two films developed

for NIE by the Education Development Center, *Girls at 12 and Clorae and Albie*, explore the forces that work against women's self-fulfillment. A third film on women at mid-career is under development. NIE has also published *Guidelines for Assessment and Sex Fairness in Career Interest Inventories* and *Issues of Sex Bias and Sex Fairness in Career Interest Measurement*. The latter publication will soon be joined by a companion volume of readings.

Texts and curriculum materials must be screened and changed to eliminate sex bias and stereotyping. In an NIE-funded study, it was found that most career education materials examined were sex biased. The Educational Products Information Exchange Institute, the contractor for this study, developed a simple checklist to assess sex bias and some specific ways to counter it. The Center for Vocational Education, through the excellent work of Louise Vetter and her colleagues, has greatly contributed to these areas by assessing educational materials related to the career development of women.

Women faculty dominate the traditionally female vocational subjects and are all but absent in other vocational programs—agriculture, technical, trade, and industry. At administrative levels, women are present in only token numbers. There are no women state directors of vocational education. Fewer than 20 percent of the national and state vocational education advisory council members are women. Innovative training and placement programs for women need to be mounted immediately to increase the pool of qualified women to see that they are placed in teaching and administrative positions commensurate with their skills and experience. Development of such programs should be a major role for the new National Center for Vocational Education.

I do not mean to imply that NIE, or indeed other federal agencies are taking care of everything. Indeed, continued research and development is sorely needed not only on the problems facing women in choosing, entering, and progressing in careers, but also on interventions that will ease their transition from school to work and make more successful their later labor market experiences. Several specific areas that need immediate attention are (1) studies on the impact of working women on family life. For example, as women take an equal share of the high paying jobs, will the income differential between poor and better-off families increase? Will male unemployment increase? (2) Studies of non-professional women who make up over 80 percent of women in the labor force. Since the 1920's, research in this field has declined to the point that in recent years there has not been a single book devoted to the social and economic problems of these women. (3) Research on avocational interests suggest these experiences can be important to people's career choices. Vocational educators should be working with elementary and junior high school students in the schools and through youth groups (4H, Y Groups, Girl and Boy Scouts) to broaden and deepen the opportunities to explore non-traditional roles. Boys, in particular, need help in feeling comfortable in nuturant and helping roles, while much work needs to be done to help girls assume leadership positions and better use their mechanical and technical aptitudes. (4) Finally, vocational educators should work more closely with parents to inform them of the trade and technical job opportunities so that they will not inadvertently discourage boys and girls from pursuing non-traditional avocational and vocational interests.

Vocational educators engaged in these efforts will find many allies at the federal level. I have already spoken of the National Institute of Education's underwriting of some pioneering efforts. In coming months, NIE will initiate several new projects, for instance, an in-depth study of women and mathematics and, I hope, a national commission on women and work, of which I shall have more to say in a moment.

NIE's efforts are confined by law to educational research and development. The Institute's Education and Work Group attempts to carry out its charge by being at the cutting edge of issues

in this area. Other agencies have different purviews. The preeminant federal leader is the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor. The Women's Bureau publicizes the data, sponsors the conferences, issues the reports, and alerts all of us through its newsletter to the advances being made and the problems that remain. Under Bill Pierce's administration, the Bureau of Adult and Occupational Education has provided important leadership within OE and in vocational education. For example, guidelines and a handbook on Part D funds have been developed. A number of significant projects on women have been funded with Part C and D funds. A full-time staff person is overseeing the implementation of sex fairness in all BOAE programs. Finally, the Fund for the Improvement of Post-secondary Education has sponsored many notable projects. A booklet has just been published by the fund describing in detail their projects on women.

Vocational Educators as Catalytic Change Agents

Since vocational educators are directly concerned with the educational goal of preparing individuals for work, they have a special responsibility to work toward eliminating the negative effects of practices in the home and early school that socialize individuals into traditional male or female stereotyped occupational roles. Their efforts should also be extended upward into work place policies and practices which overtly or covertly discriminate against one or the other sex.

First, all of us must recognize the patterns of socialization that erect internalized barriers that limit men and women in their occupational choices. These barriers are the attitudes, values, prejudices, and norms taught boys and girls about what are properly male and female behaviors and roles in society. The socialization both sexes receive limits their thinking openly and objectively about preferences, interests, choices, and decisions and futures.

The traits we associate with particularly masculine occupations—assertiveness, problem solving, tough mindedness—are fostered and encouraged through the socialization received by little boys from both the home and the school. Similarly girls are socialized into a limited number of occupations which are extensions of their roles as wives and mothers. Girls are socialized into traditional feminine behavior patterns—"act like a young lady" is the recurrent instruction—and feminine achievement patterns suffer.

One NIE response to intervening in the socialization process is a new children's television series, now under development at KCET, the public television station in Los Angeles. The series, aimed at children in grades four-six, their parents and teachers, is intended to reduce the limiting effect that sex roles may have on the development of interests and preferences, which in turn affect educational and occupational decisions.

Vocational educators should also look outward toward the work place. They should take the lead in expanding cooperative relationships with unions and employers in order to help women find jobs and partake of exploratory, work study, and cooperative education experiences, especially in non-traditional fields. Vocational education also has a special role to play in the upgrading, refreshment, and retraining of the mature woman. Finally, vocational educators may help create a climate where practices such as part-time work and flexible work hours can be extended to those who desire them.

Leadership

The third area of intervention for vocational educators is one of leadership. I would hope that vocational educators would take the lead in prodding federal, state, and local officials to engage in

a public dialogue on these important issues. Positive action will only follow a thorough understanding of problems and possible solutions.

I would like to put forth one suggestion which I would hope vocational educators would support, that is, a national commission on women and work which would place special emphasis on the needs and aspirations of America's non-professional female worker: the clerk, the saleswoman, and the service and blue collar woman, women who make up over 80 percent of working women.

The reason for such a national commission is simple. These women, who are vocational education's constituency, have largely been ignored in the public dialogue on the role of women today. As all of you know, the focus during the last decade has almost exclusively been on the middle-class, upwardly mobile, educated woman. The voice of women's liberation was her voice and spoke of her needs to fulfill herself, to compete and to succeed in a man's world. These voices broke the barriers by writing the books, making the speeches, filming the shows, and editing the magazines that have made her middle-class male counterpart begin to understand her needs and ambitions.

It is time for the voice of her less well-educated sister to be heard. While a national commission is no panacea and lacks the appeal of *Roots*; it can generate public awareness of the non-professional, working woman's plight; it can stimulate legislative and administrative initiatives which address her special problems; it can identify research and development activities that might help her break out of existing patterns of job stereotyping and improve her own self-image

In my judgment, the most important and difficult single barrier in eliminating sex stereotyping and segregation is attitudinal. Ask yourselves, have you believed that there are occupations that should be held only by one or the other sex? Have you believed that women are inherently less competent than men? Have you thought that women cannot successfully supervise men or other women? Have you felt that if women with young children go to work the family will inevitably disintegrate? Am I correct in thinking that many men and women would answer "yes" to some of these questions?

Fifteen years ago the Civil Rights Movement faced similar attitudinal barriers in its struggle for equity under the law. We have come out of that struggle with those barriers by and large massively toppled; and we can now see how flimsy and really meaningless those barriers were, and how really more important the questions of learning, living, and working are. Dare we hope that the attitudinal barriers to women's equity are similarly changeable?

As President Carter told the United Nations General Assembly last Thursday: "The basic thrust of human affairs points toward a more universal demand for fundamental human rights. The United States has a historical birthright to be associated with this process."

I believe that sex fairness is a fundamental human right. I certainly believe that the struggle for an end to occupational segregation by sex is part of the fulfillment of our American tradition.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Question: Is there now a possible group which has a role or charge similar to that of the proposed National Commission on Working Women?

No. The only possible exception might be the National Commission on Manpower Policy which has taken up similar topics for analysis.

Question: Could such a commission be given a sufficiently broad mission to examine both men's and women's roles in terms of caring for the family?

I hope it would. I don't think the problems are women's or men's but problems which will require changes in both groups. For example, when Eli Ginsberg talks about the impact of women's entry into the labor force in the twenty-first and twenty-second centuries and how that impact is unchartable right now, I see a future where men and women will share equally in child rearing and home maintenance. It won't be a woman who takes off five years, but both of them might have a part-time job for five years if they decide they should stay home with young children. I think more sharing of traditional female and male roles will be an important result.

Question: What is the relevance of the current move toward ERA elimination of sex stereotyping in occupation?

I think it is very important, and I am very sad about what happened in Missouri last week. There is fear connected with this issue, by men and women. Some of the benefits women received will not be theirs any more. The roles they grew up with of going to school, getting married, and living happily ever after are changing. That just isn't happening for modern women anymore, and I think for some women this is very threatening. The passage of ERA challenges traditional attitudes.

The ERA will be one more measure, and an important one, to eliminate sex discrimination. Each step—passage of ERA, establishing commissions, research, development of materials, Title IX, a show like "All that Glitters"—keeps up the momentum for women's equality. Each act whether large or small contributes to the larger movement of redefining women's role in society, and by implication, men's role.

The ERA threatens some women because the need for it—and there is a need—attacks the myth that women will be protected. Some women were; a lot of others never protected. For some, the personal cost for "protection" was high. Statistics show that most men discontinue child support payments a few years after divorce. Divorce rates are rising; we now have to set up Displaced Homemaker Centers. The prevalance of wife beating is being recognized. All of this testifies that the Cinderella myth was just that, a myth. But that is threatening, of course, to people who lived the myth.

Question: Do you have statistics which compare sex stereotyping in rural areas versus urban areas?

The National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs has just completed a study on the educational needs and experiences of rural women. They found that rural women are a neglected group. Copies of the report are available from them; their address is 1832 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Question: How do we strike a balance regarding the amount of time both men and women spend in the work place and the unequal time spent by women versus men in the home?

Research substantiates the hours women spend on child-rearing and home maintenance compared to their husbands; whereas, both of them will spend approximately the same time at work. I think we are in a period of transition but it's going to take time. I think that family life is extraordinarily important and I hope that men would perhaps change their ranking and put family life at the top and work as second. That's what I see happening especially as women assume more roles outside the home and men feel more comfortable in the home.

Question: With the emphasis on women and men moving into non-traditional occupational areas, what effects has it had on the ratio of men/women leadership roles in these fields?

That's a very good question. From data I have seen small changes are occurring but not rapidly enough. In the field of education, unfortunately, we appear to be going backwards.

Question: What can the labor force do to compensate for this increased participation of women in the world of work?

I think it's one of the most fruitful areas for research but I don't think we know right now. Some talk about more part-time jobs, more sharing of good jobs by society, and I expect us to do a lot more in the way of experimenting. Companies are already doing that. Others feel we should go exactly the opposite way. There is a group of women who feel that we should think more about ways to pay women who work in the home, providing economic benefits for those women. They work too, why shouldn't they get wages? Why shouldn't they have social security? I'm talking about a regular paycheck, subsidizing women who work in the home.

Question: What data exists concerning the effects of salaries and wages when women move into occupational areas where job scarcity exists, such as in the construction area?

I can just give you a personal view. I can't name any specific studies, though I'm sure data has been collected on this issue. I would doubt very much if in construction wages would go down. It may be the opposite. I think that people attribute some of the rise in elementary school teachers' salaries to more men coming into the field. I think the more interesting issue is perhaps the one I raised about families where perhaps we will find a wider distribution of income between families as more women enter the labor force.

Question: What might be done to reduce the "threat" as it relates to women moving aggressively into the labor market?

I think men are as uncomfortable as many women because we're in a period of transition and values are not clear and are in a state of flux. I'm not sure that there's any solution. It seems to me it's something that works itself out through time.

Question: How do we know when we have indeed removed all barriers to women wishing to enter the world of work?

This is at the root of the equality versus equity argument. Some would argue that equality is achieved when all barriers to women are removed so if a woman wants to go to medical school, she is on an even footing and judged equally with a man. The same would be the case in occupations. Some women would not be pleased with that because they would say it's not just the obvious barriers but the covert discrimination and socialization patterns. They would argue equity cannot be achieved until 50 percent of plumbers are women, 50 percent of physicians are women, etc. Others would argue well it should only be their percentage in the labor force so if 45 percent of the women are in the labor force then their representation should be equal to their labor force participation rate.

Question: Would an index of media programs for parents assist families in avoiding exposure of children to sex bias?

Yes it would. The National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year has Media Guidelines which are available from their Office of Public Information, Room 1004, Department of State Building, Washington, D.C. 20520.

Our small television project is an effort not only to deal with sex bias in the thirty minute programs that we're funding but also to draw attention to the problem and stimulate other groups to address it. It's a problem of creating awareness and attitudinal change so people recognize that they're being sex biased. I find the commercials particularly guilty. One would think women's only concern was "ring around the collar," glassware without water spots, and sparkling floors.

Question: To what extent has the career education program been effective in reducing sex stereotyping?

To date I don't think it's been very effective in breaking down sex stereotyping but I have no hard data on it. Successfully reducing sex stereotyping depends on changing teachers and on changing school system policies. I think we have a long way to go.

Question: Are you aware of any programs currently being conducted in vocational education to reduce sex bias?

Certain states are clearly ahead of other states. I think many changes will occur with the successful implementation of the Vocational Amendment of 1976 and the efforts of BOAE joining with the state directors. Here at the Center, for example, one of the programs that we have funded is to develop a guide book on how new "sex bias" personnel required under the new amendments might best carry

out their duties. One group that's been in the forefront is the National Educational Education Association in terms of working with local and state education agencies (under Shirley McCune). North Carolina is one state that I would select primarily because of the very sensitive state director who has appointed someone who has been very vigorous. The idea is not paying lip service to ending sex stereotyping and discrimination but in fact really implementing the spirit of the law.

Question: What are the specific behaviors that will eliminate or reduce sex bias?

I think we know a few of those behaviors, such as recruitment and admissions policies. It involves everything from curriculum to the ways we teach. There are checklists and other information available from individuals such as Shirley McCune (NEA), JoAnne Steiger, Holly Knox (PEER), and Cindy Brown (Lawyers Committee).

Question: Is data available on the number of mature women undergoing retraining?

I don't know the exact figure, but more women than men are re-entering educational institutions.

Question: Is it going to require reverse discrimination to gain equity in the employment market?

When you talk about reverse discimination, I can only give you my view. I don't believe in hiring the woman if a man and woman are competing for the same job and the woman does not meet the standards that have been set up for the job. If they're equal in skills and both meet the requirements of the job, I would hire the woman if it is a situation where women are underrepresented.